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ABSTRACT

This manual contains an outline for a fifteen hour training course intended for hypothetical peace groups and includes skills and techniques for trainers to transmit to adult participants. The group discovers through role playing that tolerance, openness, non-retaliation policies, and preparation can effectively implement social change. Materials, prepared from trainers' experiences in other non-violent training including direct action and knowledge of philosophy of non violence, emphasize role playing and group dynamics. Five chapters include information on: 1) planning and conducting guidelines for trainers in nonviolent direct action; 2) directing and evaluating role plays; 3) and 4) understanding and teaching function roles of group members and strategy and tactics; and, 5) leading and participating in direct action involving street speaking and leafleting. The material in the manual is suggestive rather than prescriptive. Trainers are encouraged to adapt methods and materials to needs of the particular group. (SJM)

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TRAINING FOR NONVIOLENT RESPONSES IN SOCIAL CONFLICT

A MANUAL FOR TRAINERS

Friends Peace Committee Training Course
in Nonviolent Direct Action

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INTRODUCTION

What is the manual? The manual is a handbook of skills and techniques used by trainers in the Friends Peace Committee Training Course. Each trainer is expected to master and to be able to transmit these skills to participants in the course. The manual is not intended to be self-sufficient for setting up a course in nonviolent direct action. It should be used along with experience in ongoing training courses and supervised training at a special trainers' course.

How was the manual prepared? Material from the experience of trainers and from written sources on such subjects as role-playing, nonviolence, and group dynamics was gathered and incorporated into a manual by trainers in the program.

Requirements for novice trainers: A candidate for a trainer in the program should have:

1. Taken at least one training course.
2. Participated in one semi-annual trainers' course run by Friends Peace Committee.
3. Participated in nonviolent direct action.
4. Become familiar with the philosophy of nonviolence.

Skills and competence expected of a trainer: A trainer should be able to:

1. Direct and evaluate role-plays.
2. Understand and explain functional roles of group members.
3. Understand and teach concepts of strategy and tactics.
4. Lead street-speaking, leafleting and other direct action projects.
5. Plan and conduct a nonviolent direct action training course relevant to the participants.

CHAPTER 1
PLANNING AND CONDUCTING A TRAINING COURSE IN NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

Components of basic nonviolent direct action training courses:

A typical Friends Peace Committee basic course in nonviolent direct action is composed of five three-hour sessions, usually held on two or three successive days. Each course is different, not only because of the varying styles and approaches of individual trainers, but also because each training group has its own special needs and interests. However, most courses should include each of the following components:

1. Guidelines for nonviolent action.
2. Role-playing.
3. Analysis of group interactions.
4. Tactics and strategy for direct action.
5. An experience in direct action, such as street-speaking or leafleting.

These components need not be presented separately. The first four components may be touched on as the result of a single role-play. They will be presented separately in this manual for clarity.

Some guidelines for nonviolent action:

A trainer should be familiar with the theory of nonviolence as it relates to direct action, and be able to help members of a training group evaluate their actions with this in mind. Trainers have found it useful to articulate some principles of nonviolent action around which they then focus a training course. The following list grew out of an informal conversation of three trainers, and is not meant to be exhaustive:

1. CONFLICT is an essential part of social change. Our problem is how to wage it nonviolently and effectively, through such tactics as demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, etc.

2. TRUTH belongs to both sides. Because the opponent, too, has some truth in his position, negotiations will be necessary at some point to resolve the conflict.

3. OPENNESS in planning and actions must be maintained, both for internal democracy and presenting a clear image to outsiders.

4. NON-RETALIATION: A strict policy of non-retaliation disarms the opponent instead of destroying him. Acceptance of suffering, rather than threat of violence, is used to persuade him.

5. PREPARATION for nonviolent action includes stating goals, planning strategy, deciding on tactics, and establishing a discipline.

A trainer helps a group, through role-playing, discover these principles and explore their application in direct action. A skilled trainer encourages group members to derive principles from the role-playing during discussion, rather than merely stating them himself.

A sample five-part training course: Before planning a training course, a trainer should find out about the nature of the group to be trained: its previous activities, backgrounds of individuals in the group, its plans for future activities, etc. Based on this advance information he should develop a tentative outline for the course. Naturally, this plan may be revised during the course as he sees how the group is progressing. But to begin the sessions without a plan often needlessly wastes time.

What follows is a training course outline for a hypothetical peace or civil rights group, in five sessions of three hours each. Each session is introduced by stating the trainer's goals.

FORMAT

FIRST SESSION: To introduce role-playing as a training technique. To relate role-playing and analysis to situations similar to this group's experience. To develop a sense of the essential elements of direct action: planning, action and evaluation.

1. Introductions and announcements.
2. Brief explanation of role-playing.
3. Role-play: removal of a demonstrator (see Chapter 2 for the scenario and roles of this role-play).
4. RP: Unauthorized sign (See Chapter 2).
5. RP: Visit to Congressman's office (See Lakey, MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION).
6. Evaluation of first session and planning for second session.

SECOND SESSION: To explore functional roles of group members. To develop leadership skills. To explore the possibilities of nonviolent self-defense. To explore problems of secrecy and violent tactics within a group.

1. RP: Definition of nonviolence (see Chapter 3).
2. RP: Leadership qualities (see Chapter 3).
3. RP: Self-defense (see Chapter 2).
4. RP: Gang (see Chapter 2).

THIRD SESSION: To develop tactical and strategic thinking for direct action projects. To help group develop its own strategy for change.

1. Situation analysis: Attack on vigil line.
2. RP: Strategic action--War Game (See Chapter 4).
3. Group develops its own strategic action role-play using the Analysis-Evaluation Question Sets (see Chapter 4).

FOURTH SESSION: To help the group further its strategic planning. To begin generalizing concepts of nonviolence.

1. RP: Group's own strategic action role-play.
2. Excerpts from speeches of Martin Luther King on nonviolence.*

FIFTH SESSION: To develop skills and self-confidence in actual conflict situations.

1. RP: Street-speaking (see Chapter 5).
2. Street-speaking and leafleting.
3. Evaluation of street-speaking experience.
4. Evaluation of training course.

* Record with excerpts that could be used for this purpose available from SCLC, Martin Luther King Speaks, Box 97, Washington Bridge Station, New York, NY 10033. Ask for the record "Pastor. . . Revolutionary." $4.00.

CHAPTER 2
DIRECTING AND EVALUATING ROLE-PLAYS

Directing Role-Plays

Choosing a Scenario: Initially, the trainer should have on hand the scenarios he feels relevant for a particular session. This is done according to an understanding of the group to be trained and a tentative outline of the entire training course (see Chapter 1). However, as soon as a group becomes familiar with role-playing, the trainer should ask them for suggestions of situations which they would like to role-play.

Setting the Scene: Once the scenario has been chosen, the trainer should state the role-play situation to all of the participants. Some of the information may need to be withheld from the entire group and just stated to a certain group in the briefing session (see below). At any rate, it is important to state clearly to all what the background information is, and what props are being used (e.g., two chairs form the outsides of a doorway, etc.)

Reducing the Threat of the Situation: Particularly with a group's first experiences with role-playing, it may be necessary to explain that:

No one will be ridiculed or judged
Those who participate will get the most out of it
People are there to learn and make mistakes; if mistakes weren't made, there would be no need for roleplaying in this situation
It is better to make mistakes in laboratory situation than in the field
No one will play himself (with certain exceptions), each person plays a role with which he can experiment with how to act in a situation without any fears
Note: It is important for the role-playing director to be warm and relaxed. He must make it easy for people to be themselves, to speak freely, to get involved and participate as if they were among friends or more so.

Comments like the above should be made whenever the trainer feels it appropriate. Such comments help to encourage participation.

Casting the Roles: Generally, it is best to ask for volunteers for specific roles in a scenario. One exception might be when there are particularly complex roles. Then the trainer might ask the more experienced persons in the group to fill the difficult roles.

Observers: Each role-play should have several observers. These persons should have pencil and paper and some instructions as to what to look for. During the evaluation of the role-play, observers can play a significant part in reconstructing and interpreting the events of the role play.

Briefing Sessions: After the scenario has been explained and roles assigned, the different groups in the role-play should meet separately to plan for the role-play itself. For instance, in a role-play of a vigil, the demonstrators and the passersby should meet separately. If there are further instructions to just one of these groups, the trainer should state them at this time. In a role-play of the removal of a demonstrator, for example, at this time the trainer would tell the passersby what they are expected to do. These briefing sessions are terribly important to the entire role-play. One of the by-products of the training course should be to help participants develop skills in planning actions, so how a group plans is significant. At least one observer should be present during each of these briefing sessions.

Cutting the Role-play: Many role-plays have a natural breaking point. Others should be cut when the trainer feels it has exhausted itself; when participants have become over-involved; or if a role-play has gotten out of control. Sometimes it is possible simply to inject a new element into a role-play by whispering instructions to one of the participants, which can prolong or intensify a role-play that is not progressing to the trainer's satisfaction without cutting it.

Evaluating and Analyzing Role-Plays

As soon as a role-play has been cut, participants should be encouraged to return to a discussion area separate from the scene of the role-play (assuming sufficient facilities). Often groups will discuss the role-play spontaneously for a few minutes. It is usually best for the trainer to allow this to happen before he structures the discussion. Some of the levels that might be discussed are the following:

Facts: What actually happened? If a physical confrontation occurred, what events led up to it? Observers often can be the most helpful in reconstructing events of a role-play.

Feelings: How did persons feel when certain events took place? Discussion along these lines helps to give insight into the motivations and feelings of persons not usually empathized with (e.g., police, landlords, college presidents, etc.) It can also help in constructing better tactics.

Alternatives: How else could the situation have been handled? Creative analysis of different possibilities can lead to new role-plays of similar situations or be helpful to groups planning specific tactics.

Philosophy: How does what happened relate to some of our concerns about nonviolence? Often, role-plays can bring out some theoretical points if the trainer is prepared to discuss them. For instance, role-playing the gang situation often raises questions about openness and

secrecy.

Historical examples: Though this can be over-used, a trainer with knowledge of related nonviolent actions in the past can bring them into the discussion of a given role-play.

Summary: For the sake of coherence of the training experience, the trainer should encourage persons to summarize what has been learned as a result of specific role-plays and role-play discussions.

Sample Scenarios

Removal of a demonstrator: A group of antiwar protestors are engaged in a vigil near a draft board in a hostile neighborhood. After comments from several hostile passersby, two men approach and try to physically remove the smallest demonstrators.

Roles: 5-8 demonstrators, 2 "kidnappers", several other passersby

Purposes: To raise problem of group responsibility to individual participants in an action. To explore nonviolent responses to an extremely provocative situation.

Student sit-in: Radical students at a large university have been demanding a greater voice in campus decision-making. They have met no success after a petition campaign. The administration has refused to meet with leaders of the radical group. So a group of students has decided to occupy the President's office. After being there several hours, a dean meets with the group and informs them that the President has agreed to meet with them if they leave his office, and that he will call the police if they do not.

Roles: 5-6 sit-iners, a dean, several police

Purpose. To examine relation of a tactic (sit-in) to overall strategy, and to negotiations.

Unauthorized sign: A group is picketing a local draft board. Someone approaches the group and asks one of the members if he can join. If accepted, he pulls out his own sign which says "Fuck the draft."

Roles: 5-8 demonstrators, the new participant, several passersby.

Purpose: To raise the question of discipline within a group devoted to nonviolence.

Long hair: A student has been suspended from high school for refusing to cut his hair, which is too long according to school standards. Several students feel that his suspension was unjustified and decide to meet with the principal to voice their disagreement with the long hair policy.

Roles: principal, 3-4 students.

Purpose: To explore methods of handling conflict with authority.

The Street Gang: This street gang has just had one of its two caches of weapons confiscated by the city police. At the present time, the leader of the gang and two of his top lieutenants are discussing their situation. One of these men claims to have seen "Joe", another member of the gang, talking with a policeman the previous day.

Roles: Gang leader, two gang members.

Purpose: To explore the following: secrecy's effect on decision-making. Effect of violent means on the relationships of group members with each other. Relationship of violent means employed by the gang and secrecy in decision-making. Effect of secrecy on the decision-making process of the gang. Effects of violent means on the internal relationships of gang members.

Vigil Line: A group of suburbanites is holding a silent vigil in front of city hall to protest police brutality. The following variations can occur:

1. Some inquisitive passersby try to find out the nature of the protest.
2. Some hostile passersby taunt the group and attempt to steal the signs or leaflets.
3. A hostile passerby tries to taunt, spit at, and push around one or more vigilers.

Roles: Numbers of demonstrators and passersby vary (see above).

Purpose: To learn skills in organizing a demonstration for contingencies. To explore nonviolent responses to provocative acts.

Induction Center Obstruction: A group of demonstrators has decided to attempt to prevent inductees from entering the induction station. They choose their own method of obstruction. (Some possibilities: standing, sitting, or lying in the doorway; greeting each inductee at the door at attempting to persuade him not to enter, without physically obstructing him.)

Roles: 5-8 demonstrators, 3-4 inductees, possibly several police, an induction center official.

Purpose: To explore different tactical possibilities in a situation.

Self-defense Series:

1. A person is standing on a corner waiting for a bus when approached by two persons who intend to steal his wallet (or purse).
2. A peace demonstrator is walking home from a demonstration when accosted by three men who intend to "beat him up" for his participation in the demonstration.
3. A girl is walking through a "tough neighborhood" when approached by a man who intends to rape her.

Roles: Vary.

Purpose: To explore the possibilities of nonviolent self-defense.

Rent strike campaign: A group of tenants has decided that if certain repairs are not made, they will withhold rent from the landlord. He, in turn, feels that he would evict any tenant who engages in such an action. The first scene should be that of a group of tenants meeting with the landlord, his assistant, and his receptionist. Subsequent scenes should be derived from the first. Possibilities include: further negotiations, sending of letters (eviction/withholding rent), tenant meetings, landlord strategy meetings, an eviction scene, picketing the landlord's office and/or home, etc. There should be at least two rooms for this role-play so that the opposing groups can meet simultaneously to plan strategy.

Note: These scenes should be r le-played in succession, with discussion and evaluation after the last scene.

Roles: Several tenants, landlord, landlord's assistant, receptionist. Other roles as needed, such as police, passersby, suburban supporters, etc.

Purpose: To develop a sense of strategic considerations in a nonviolent campaign.

Other role-plays: 1. Jail situations--particularly ones with threats of attach from fellow prisoners. (Example is in MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION.)

2. Verbal confrontations--visits to Congressmen, landlords, mayors, school boards, etc.
3. Campaigns--local attempt to put pressure on stores not to stock grapes; campaign to rid a university of ROTC; campaign by a local welfare rights organization to obtain increased welfare payments.
4. Occupations of property--black groups demanding reparations occupying church buildings.
5. See Lakey and Oppenheimer's MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION for several more role-plays, which may be used as written or varied as appropriate to the group.

CHAPTER 3
UNDERSTANDING AND TEACHING FUNCTIONAL ROLES OF GROUP MEMBERS

Group dynamics and nonviolent action: A group engaging in nonviolent direct action must prepare for action by planning strategy and tactics. Because this involves group decision-making, a trainer should include in his course some skills in group dynamics. He should point out some functional roles of group members, show how assuming various roles can help or hinder decision-making, and help participants learn to assume necessary roles.

Tools: The following three tools will assist a trainer in this portion of the training course. The three are interrelated and should be used in a single session.

1. A ROLE-PLAY: "Specific task, limited time assignment." This role-play is designed to bring out many of the functional roles of group members. At the same time it will give a lesson in group decision-making.

2. TWO CHARTS describing helpful individual roles in groups. The roles are divided into two areas: "Task Roles" and "Group Building and Maintenance Roles".

3. SELF-ANALYSIS CHECK-LIST, useful in analyzing each person's own participation in groups.

Tool #1: Specific Task, Limited Time Assignment

Setting the scene:

This is basically a circle discussion group with observers on the outside of the circle. Split the group in half so that 6-10 people sit in the circle for discussion.

Assign a specific task. Write it on the blackboard. The task should require some group decision-making process in order for it to be completed properly, e.g., "Give me your group's definition of nonviolence."

Set a specific time limit for the discussion and decision-making. Ten minutes is recommended for a time limit. Time is important in this role-play because the point is made that all decision-making in groups is done under the tyranny of time.

Call the observers to one side. Ask them to watch for sources of leadership in the group, and for the emergence of a specific plan for decision-making.

The role play:

Let the group start its discussion and let it continue for the full allotted time. After the allotted time is past, end the discussion and begin evaluation.

Evaluation:

Ask the group for its decision. Ask observers to comment on whether the task was completed properly. Now ask observers to point out sources of leadership in the group. Point out that leadership roles were assumed by various members at different times.

Now discuss the other roles in the group and introduce the idea of functional roles in the group. Point out some of these, such as group maintenance, task roles, and individual roles. Point out how one person can or did fill several roles in the discussion.

Now introduce the Self-Analysis Check List and have each member of the training group fill out a check list for himself. Let participants discuss how they might fill various roles in meetings.

Tool #2: Task Roles

This chart describes some behavior tending to promote the work of the group. The trainer should be able to assume these roles when needed and be able to transmit his skill to his training participants.

ROLE	PURPOSE	TECHNIQUE
Initiator	To give direction and purpose to the group.	Proposes tasks, goals, defines problem, suggests procedures.
Information-Seeker	To make group aware of need for information.	Request relevant facts.
Information-Giver	To show group which info is relevant to its work.	Offers relevant facts, avoids reliance on opinion when facts are needed.
Opinion Seeker	Tries to show how members are feeling.	Asks for suggestions, ideas, statements of values, feelings.
Clarifier	Tries to eliminate confusion.	Defines terms, interprets ideas, indicates issues and alternatives
Elaborator	Tries to end confusion. To show consequences of plans and positions	Gives examples, develops meanings, explains
Summarizer	Tries to show how ideas are relating in the group.	Pulls together related ideas. Shows contradictions, restates suggestions, offers conclusions.

Tool #2 contd.: Group Building and Maintenance Roles

This chart describes some behavior tending to build and maintain the group as a working unit. A skilled member will assume certain of these roles as they are needed to keep the group together running smoothly.

ROLE	PURPOSE	TECHNIQUE
Encouraging	To bring out others' opinions and to give recognition to others.	Be friendly, warm and responsive to others. Accept others' opinions.
Expressing-Feelings	To call group attention to reactions to ideas and suggestions made.	Express your own feelings and restate others' feelings and opinions.
Harmonizing	To reconcile discord, reduce tension.	Make relaxing comments, use joking, get people to explore differences.
Compromising	To maintain group cohesion.	Offer compromise on your ideas, yield status, admit error, show self-discipline.
Facilitate-communication	To maintain open discussion.	Ask others' opinions, fill expressed group needs, listen to others, suggest procedures for discussion.
Setting standards and goals	To make group aware of direction and progress.	Express the relevant group concern, suggest tasks.
Testing agreement	To find out how close group is to agreement	Note progress, express your perception of common ground in the group, send up "trial balloons", e. g., tenaative agreements, for reaction
Listening-Following	Acts as stimulating, interested audience for others	Listen , accept ideas of others

Source: Prof. Irma Jones
Temple University

Tool #3: Self-Analysis Check List

Individual Roles	Roles I fill most often	Roles I would most like to fill	Roles I perform inadequately	Roles I would like to practice
Blocker Dominator Special-interest pleader Playboy Recognition seeker Cynic Follower				
Group Maintenance Roles				
Compromiser Harmonizer Encourager Expediter Interpreter				
Group Task Roles				
Information seeker Information giver Initiator Opinion seeker Opinion giver Elaborator Coordinator Procedure developer Philosopher-critic				

Taken from the book ORAL DECISION-MAKING, by Waldo W. Braden and Ernest Bradenburg. (pp 251)

CHAPTER 4

UNDERSTANDING AND TEACHING CONCEPTS OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Strategy for Social Change: Serious planners for change engage in nonviolent direct action as part of a broader strategy involving both short and long-range goals and a variety of tactics. Too often people equate nonviolence with a single nonviolent tactic independent of analysis, goals, or plans, then say "We've tried nonviolence and it doesn't work."

A trainer should introduce participants to a range of nonviolent tactics and to the process of developing strategy. Role-playing remains the core of the training session. Strategy and tactics can be brought out very effectively through role-playing and evaluation. Strategy in particular is more difficult to teach however, and the Friends Peace Committee Nonviolent Direct Action program is still struggling with this problem. Trainers in this program have developed the following imperfect tools for teaching strategy and tactics:

1. Situation Analysis Charts
2. Game Playing: Civilian Defense, Peace Games, and Strategic Action Scenarios

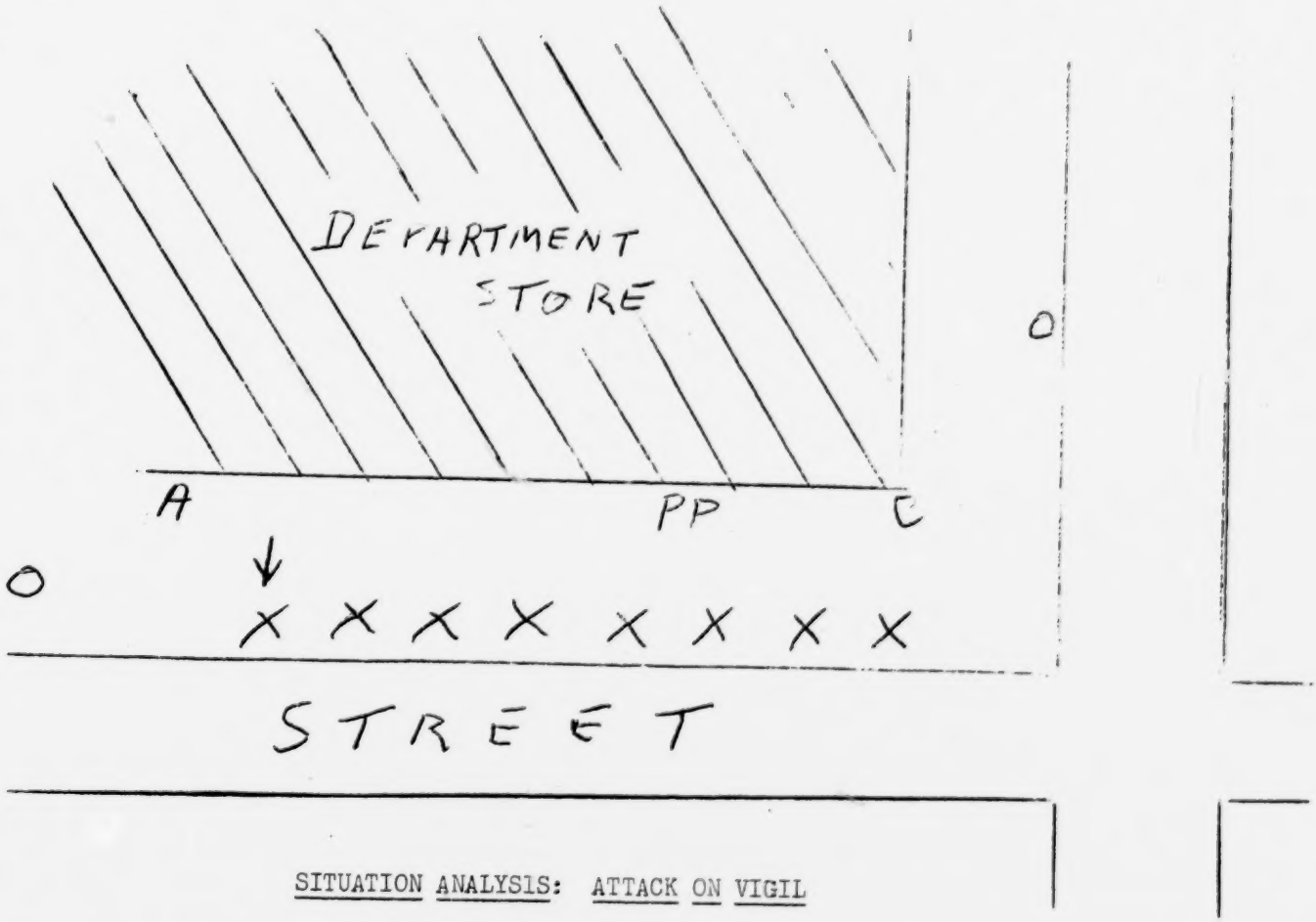
The trainer should not feel that these techniques have to be used in each session. The games in particular require more time than role-playing, and should only be used when there is enough time for both game and careful evaluation afterwards. Situation analysis and game playing can both be used when variation from role-playing seems to be called for. This may be with groups having shorter attention spans, such as high school groups, or when role-playing is difficult (not enough people, not enough space, or has become repetitious). Peace game has only been explored occasionally and the Friends Peace Committee is still experimenting with it. It may work best with a group that has already spent a lot of time together and has a strong dynamic, and is having a training session in a retreat situation (living and eating together, etc.)

SITUATION ANALYSIS CHART

Purpose: A way of analyzing a direct action situation in order to explore alternative tactics.

Procedure: Place the chart on a blackboard (or if possible have copies to hand out). Explain the situation verbally and give the group a few minutes to think about it. The group discusses how each participant in the situation should respond. Each suggestion is analyzed by asking questions such as: why? what would alternatives be? how would people react to this move? The discussion should bring out disagreements about tactics, and it may become appropriate to role-play the situation, having taken it as far as possible verbally.

Samples: In addition to the sample on the following page, there is material for situation analysis in the Lakey and Oppenheimer Manual, Chapter 7. (Particularly useful are the questions on p. 83, and the section on police tactics, p. 88). Situations can be drawn from actual demonstrations, such as analyzing the tactics of the Oakland Draft Board Sit-In, or analyzing the 1967 Mobilization-Pentagon Rally. It is most valuable to explore an actual situation familiar to the participants and see where it succeeded and where it failed. Often ideas for situation analysis can come from the group itself drawing on its past actions.



SITUATION ANALYSIS: ATTACK ON VIGIL

X - Vigilers
C - Group captain
A - Group captain's assistant
O- Leafleters
P - Police

SITUATION

Poor Peoples Campaign support group, interracial, is conducting a vigil at a downtown site. The participants (X) stand near the curb facing the department store. Person at each end of the line carries an identifying sign. Time: 12:30 P.M.

INCIDENT

Two young men walk westward past the line, then suddenly intercept last person on the line, shoving him (her) into the pedestrians passing between line and store, knocking a pedestrian down. The attackers then start to run on westward

TASKS

Suggest responses: vigilers, captain, assistant, person next to one attacked, fallen pedestrian, leafleters, police. Analyze structure of the vigil for best potential responses. Evaluate effect after the incident has run its course.

TIME FOR EXERCISE: 30 minutes

GAME PLAYING

STRATEGIC ACTION SCENARIOS AND PEACE GAMES (CIVILIAN DEFENSE GAMES)

Game playing is something that the Friends Peace Committee trainers are just beginning to experiment with and learning to relate to the teaching of strategy and tactics. Below are some sample scenarios and directions for using them. The game playing and follow-up evaluations help people experience the effects of strategic and tactical actions. Although the action is only assumed and not played-out (as it is in role-playing), the experience can be real and involving. A mid-campaign strategy meeting at mosphere is created. The aim is to develop a sense of strategy with regard to groups of people in motion to defend their values, whether it be against opposing groups or opposing nations. In addition, the Peace Games raise theoretical and ethical issues involved in civilian defense.

Procedure:

1. The participants are divided into three groups: team A, team B, and assessors (in Peace Games: invaders, defenders, and assessors). These groups are separated after hearing the basics of the situation, and subsequent communication flows between team A and team B only through the assessors. The number in the assessor group should be three or less.

2. Team A initiates by some move of provocation (in Peace Games, invading team has first move). This is reported in writing to the assessors. The assessors then decide on its reality and effect (see role of assessors, below) and send a messenger to team B with a written statement of the action and its effect. At the same time, another assessor takes the same written statement to team A so that they can see how their action has been interpreted through the assessors.

3. Team B responds to the provocation in some way, sending their response in writing to the assessors. The assessors then decide on the reality and effect of the response and send a written report back to team A of the action and its effect. (The report also goes back to team B so they can see how their message was sent out by the assessors.)

4. In the meantime, team A has been working on its strategy, has a few contingencies ready, depending on response by team B, and is therefore ready to take the report from the assessors and decide what their next move will be. They send a message to the assessors with their action, and so it goes.

5. A time limit for each move is wise, lest endless elaboration take place for each move to the detriment of the pace of the game. A further advantage of the time pressure is that it makes for realism, since time is usually of the essence. We suggest a 20 minute limit for the first move of each side, then 10 minute limits after that. A time limit for the assessors is also helpful. We suggest 10 minutes initially, and 5 minutes thereafter.

6. In order to keep the number of variables from getting too overwhelming, it is best to limit each side's move to just 3 actions. E.G. One move of a defending team in a Peace Game might be: a) we have activated our network of underground radios; b) we are appealing to the U.N.; and c) we have alerted the population via underground radio to put our civilian defense plan into action.

7. The action is stopped by a decision of the assessors. (In the Peace Game there is also the possibility of the withdrawal of the invaders or crushing of the defenders.) It is extremely important to include adequate time for evaluation afterwards. A minimal realistic time allotment for both game and evaluation would be not less than 3 hours.

8. Role of Assessors: The assessors should only alter a message if they consider it to be unrealistic, or if one side tries to predict the other side's response in their message.

Evaluation:

The groups come back together and the chairman (someone not involved in the struggle or decisions about consequences of actions and reactions) leads a discussion on the following kinds of questions:

1. What were the most successful moves of each camp? What were the least successful? Why? (e.g. Did each team accurately assess resources, strengths, weaknesses? Were assumptions about the situation and the participants correct? Were team members prepared to meet the consequences of their group action?)

2. What tactics were used which have been used in other struggles? Were there any new tactics tried out?

3. What was the strategy of each team? Did each team guess accurately the opposing team's strategy?

4. Did the assessors evaluate the consequences of particular moves fairly adequately? Were some of the assessments surprising?

Sample Scenarios:

1. Suburban High School Scenario

Situation: Suburban High, 1500 students, is located in a rapidly growing suburb outside a major metropolitan area, such as D.C. or New York, populated mostly by executive and managerial type adults who have moved here during the last fifteen years to escape the problems of the city. Most of the adults are not involved in community activities, beyond an occasional little theater group or garden club. There is, however, a fairly large and active John Birch Society which is sponsoring two Republican candidates for School Board on an anti-sex education platform; they have hinted they will throw all Communists and Pink Fellow Travellers out of school if elected. (The area is 36% Republican, 31% Democratic, and 33% indifferent.) They have entered the primary uncontested. There is also a tiny group of young adults who have recently formed a local peace action group.

Inside Suburban High, there is overcrowding, a high turnover of teachers, and an eighty page book on school rules, enforced sporadically when atall. The faculty is one-third teachers on tenure, one-third teachers who are either moonlighting a lot or actively seeking other work, and one-third in third first three years of teaching. A small group of five to fifteen teachers is upset with conditions in the school and is trying to organize a union. The students are mostly college-bound and interested in getting good grades, going to parties, and winning popularity contests; most are, though, dissatisfied with the school's curriculum, which all agree is dull. The student council has power only to organize class dances, pep rallies, and the like; although a few members are unhappy about this, none of the dissatisfaction has brought any changes. The newspaper is basically treated as a school public relations sheet.

Team A is the Administration which would like to solve the problems of overcrowding, poor curriculum, etc., but is currently under pressure from inadequate budget and noisy Birchers.

Team B is a student activist group, which wants to sensitize fellow students to issues of Vietnam, the Draft, white racism, student rights, etc., and to organize student action around some of these issues.

Game #1: The school sponsors a yearly Armed Forces Week, with intensive military recruiting, patriotic speeches, Pentagon films. Team B wants to affect this one-sides situation and has the first move.

Game #2: The Birch candidates are now claiming the school is a breeding ground for hippies, pot, illicit sex, and the SDS. Team A is re-examining its 80-page rule book (containing all regulations on dress, hall behavior, demerits, and discipline, dating from 1935) with an eye toward more control of its situation. Team A has the first move.

Game #3: The newly-formed Black Students Union (23 of the school's 38 blacks) has issued a "Manifesto Against Institutional Racism", calling for Black History and Culture, Black representation on student council and a Black student review board for suspensions and expulsions. The Manifesto implies that they will "use any means necessary." In response, a students-for Wallace-and Birch group has formed, and is privately saying it wants a fight. In this game, assume Team B includes a number of black students who are willing to accept nonviolence. Either A or B may move first. (Note: The Assessors may not comment on actions of B.S.U. or Students-for-Wallace and Birch unless either A or B makes a move directly affecting either or both groups.)

2. Peace Game: Russia Invades Finland Scenario:

The Soviet Union has decided to invade Finland for the following reasons: After the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Finland became more up-tight about a possible Russian threat, and decided to join NATO. NATO was itself growing in power and Finland might become the clearest point at which to challenge what might develop into a realignment of forces with formerly somewhat neutral countries lining up with the NATO bloc. Further, Finnish geologists had found, in the northern section, the largest deposit of hunkite existing in the world, an important material used in anti-anti-anti-anti-anti ballistics missile systems, on which the Soviet Union was short. Finland's joining NATO would prevent the Soviets from trading for that strategic material. The Soviets decided to move before Finland actually joined (negotiations were going on), and at the same time heated up the Berlin and Middle East situations to distract the U.S. and produce enough fear so that the escalation ladder would not be climbed to the point of nuclear exchange.

Finland, realizing that the U.S. would probably not risk nuclear war over a country traditionally in the Soviet sphere of influence before all the ties were tightened, pulled out its contingency plan of civilian defense. Civilian defense had attracted enough attention for the military to have planned for it as part of a flexible response, but the population had not received much training.

Many other scenarios can be invented. Your group may have a common experience or background that will provide a scenario idea. In games based on the group's own experience or background, participants can formulate their own problems and assume responsibility for solving them. Questions such as the following analysis questions may be used to help a group make its own problem formulation and devise a strategic action game scenario.

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

- What is the problem as you see it?
- What individuals, groups, and forces are likely to be on the side of status quo?
- What individuals, groups, and forces are likely to be on the side of change?
- What actions, attitudes, and institutions need to be changed in order to solve the problem?
-What resources does each side have?
-Where do you and your group fit into the community, the problem?
-How can you contribute to a solution? What resources do you have to offer?
-What specific action or series of actions is necessary to change the situation and solve the problem?

In devising Peace Game scenarios, it may be helpful to use hypothetical countries so that people don't react emotionally to the role in which they are cast. For example, in playing the "Russia Invades Finland" scenario, the Russians may tend to think of themselves as the 'bad guys' and the Finns as the 'good guys'.

CHAPTER 5

TRAINING FOR PARTICIPATION IN AND ORGANIZING OF DIRECT ACTION: OPEN AIR SPEAKING LEAFLETING

Question: How can you as a trainer help move people from talking to action by building self confidence in planning and actually participating in a direct action project?

Introduction: In this section we present two tools for you to use: street speaking or open air speaking, and leaflet writing and leafleting. The purpose of these tools is to provide a step-by-step process leading to actual participation in public speaking and leafleting on controversial issues.

Role-playing the street meeting is the first step in process. Here participants practice delivering points in short, concise presentations designed to raise controversial issues and draw crowd interaction. At the same time crowd control skills are learned as participants take turns playing heckler and crowd technician roles.

Actual public street-speaking is the next step in street-speaking. Participants test their skills and discover their own potential for direct action. This is a key part of the training course. Held as the final session or very near the end of the course, a successful street-speaking experience provides an exhilarating end to the training sessions. Armed with positive proof of effective direct action on a small scale, participants sense the real possibility for action in their own communities.

Leafleting is presented here in the context of the street speaking experience. Participants may learn writing skills by actually writing their own leaflet and have opportunity for additional personal presentation of controversial issues. Correct distribution and handling of leaflets within the street speaking structure gives practical experience for planning for various roles in a direct action project.

As a trainer you should have experience in planning and participating in street speaking, leaflet writing, and leafleting. You should be able to transmit basic skills and be able to relate them to specific issues that concern your training group. You should have read "How To Conduct a Street Meeting" by George Lakey and David Richards (mimeo, Friends Peace Committee).

TOOL #1 Street-Speaking

Step One: Role Playing

Role Playing the street meeting should be done for many reasons. The participants have opportunity to simulate experience with hecklers, different speaking conditions, and observe some of the basic elements in a street meeting. This is an opportunity for the trainer to begin to dispel fears and inhibitions that participants may have. One way this is done is through the exaggerated heckling done in the role-play situation.

Set-Up: The role-play can be done either indoors or outside. In either case provide some raised platform, table or chair for the speaker to stand on. Allow considerable space around the speakers' stand for the crowd to walk and maneuver.

Roles: Do not divide the group into speakers and onlookers. All participants should speak. Those who are not speaking at a specific time will assume the roles of onlookers. To start, assign a first speaker plus two or three others who are lined up to follow in order on the platform. You will have to encourage others to follow in order as the speaking continues. As one participant is speaking you can move among your group, asking others if they will follow so and so. Working this way, you will be able to involve nearly all your group in a short role play.

Instruct the entire group in the structure of the role play, the order of speakers, some elements of speaking and heckling. Spend some time and examples on the role of crowd technicians. Ask those who are not speaking to assume crowd member roles, onlookers, passersby, hecklers. Ask a few to practice crowd control techniques. You may want to add a policeman for a few minutes of specialized experience.

Time: Keep this short. The practice here is very important; but you should be able to plan the role-play, have a run through involving nearly all your group and evaluate the happening in 45 minutes. Take five or ten minutes for explanation, fifteen or twenty minutes for the role-play, then evaluate.

In summary here are important points that should be covered in the role-play and evaluation:

Speakers techniques	- Short concise points; be specific, go into details.
Assigning topics	- Agree on a general subject.
Crowd Control	- Assist the speaker, set the tone in the crowd.
Hecklers	- Handle potential disrupters by raising values of fairness, democracy, free speech, etc. Use personal discussion to draw individuals away when necessary.
Police	- Note importance of informing them in advance.
Permits	- Importance of checking this in advance.
Equipment	- A flag, a sign, something to stand on, literature.

Personalize the meeting - Introduce each speaker, introduce the group.
If the situation is out of control - Cover methods for ending meeting when disruptions are threatening.

Step Two: Actual Public Street-Speaking

Set-Up: The trainer is primarily responsible for all technical aspects of setting up the street meeting. You must find a convenient spot that is acceptable to your group and has potential for drawing a crowd, You will have to check on all permit rules, flag rules, police contacts, and provide equipment.

Roles: Your group should understand that the purpose is to explore a miniature conflict situation. They should be prepared to raise and deal with controversial issues. The experience of defending positions publicly is a key to this training segment.

All participants should understand basic principles of crowd control. Of course no members will be acting as hecklers in street-meeting. Participants should be able to help attract and bring in a crowd, remove or disperse disruptive discussion centers that form, work to keep attention on the speaker, encourage the speaker with humorous assists and applause. Your group should have confidence that you will stop the meeting and leave the scene in the event of possible uncontrolled elements in the crowd.

Suburban Speaking: One problem in the past has been difficulty in finding convenient locations in residential areas. A recent publication by the Philadelphia Police Department, Rights and Limitations on Speech and Assembly, (intro. by Arlen Spector) states that demonstrations in shopping centers are legal:

> "May a demonstration be held in a shopping center area even though it is on private property? Yes, such an activity may take place in the area of a shopping center which is freely accessible and open to the public like a street in a downtown district. Where the activities of demonstrators or picketers are generally the same as the use to which the property is actually put, then the exercise of the right of speech or expression is lawful even though it is on private property at a shopping center. Such peaceful activity is lawful even if it causes sporadic and infrequent congestion in an area used for picking up goods."

This ruling seems to break the restriction against speaking in shopping centers. Trainers would find excellent potential for generating crowds during shopping hours in suburban centers.

Objection to Street-Speaking: A sizeable minority of participants have objected to the use of the street-speaking tool. Usually the source of the objection is fear and lack of confidence. In those cases the trainer tries to overcome objection by providing skills in a comfortable role-play situation. However, some groups may have specific needs which make street-speaking not helpful to them. Trainers should be able to assess the situation and provide other experiences.

Visiting local officials on specific issues, and participation in ongoing projects have been tried in the past. These two alternatives had the weakness of not providing some of the essential elements of direct action found in street speaking. In actions which you do not control, participation may be limited to walking in a picket line or standing on a vigil. Personal involvement in those tasks does not compare to the level of personal confrontation provided by street-speaking. Another difficulty in visiting officials or joining actions is the need for considerable advance planning and the greater consequences of errors. You as a trainer are not expected to lead a group into battle on their local front. You should help them develop skills and test them in a controlled situation. When street-speaking does not fit the group's needs or you are stopped by inclement weather you may have to expand other sections of the training, role-play the planning of actions or work to convince your group of the real need for street-speaking as a training tool.

Closing the Street-Speaking: We recommend that at the close of the speaking session, one of the trainers state in his closing remarks that Friends Peace Committee sponsored this speaking, and say something about its commitment to nonviolent action and what relevance that has to present social problems. The street-speaking should be followed up with a group evaluation of the street-speaking and the whole training experience. Try to schedule at least 15 minutes for this.

TOOL #2 Leaflets and Leafleting:

Introduction: Leaflet distribution provides another opportunity to the student for contact in a crowd situation. As a leafleter and participant can assist in gathering a crowd, answering questions, encouraging discussion, introducing and legitimizing the street-speaking scene to the passersby. As a trainer you should convey the importance of leaflets and leafleting to your group and help them develop skills.

Step One: Leaflet Writing:

Specific tips on format and content for leaflets can be found in "How to Conduct a Street Meeting." If a mimeo and typewriter are available you can let your group write a leaflet specifically for its own street meeting. The FPC can provide sample leaflets for the group to analyze in terms of format, content, etc. in preparation for writing their own. The trainer will probably have to help produce the leaflet on the mimeo. Friends Peace Committee can provide paper. However, these details should be worked out in advance of the training course so that the trainer can plan ahead.

As an alternative to the group designing and writing its own leaflet, FPC can provide substitutes from its vast backlog of left-overs. The coordinator will try to assess the group's general interest in advance and provide trainers with a leaflet that is appropriate. In some cases this will not be possible; you will have to improvise.

Step Two: Leafleting:

You can role-play some leafleting situations in the street speaking role play session. Some points to be stressed are:

- Key locations of leafleteers
- Genial approach to passersby
- Aggressive but not overbearing presentation
- Answer all questions
- Explain the presence of the crowd if asked
- Pick up all discarded leaflets

Leafleteers should rotate with crowd technicians and should take their turns speaking. Your aim should be to involve all participants in all aspects of the action.

CONCLUSION

We view this training program as experimental. It has been changing constantly and we want it to keep growing and changing. This manual is an initial and tentative attempt to systematize what we have learned in our first year of experimentation. We hope the material in this manual will be added to and built upon by the experience of the Friends Peace Committee program as well as by many others.

Our trainers are not 'professionals'--they have learned by doing and by teaching others. It is hoped that each person who is exposed to this training becomes a 'trainer', and can pass his experiences on to other people. Our philosophy is "each one teach one."

We hope that as others develop training programs in other parts of the country that they will feel free to use the material in this manual, add to it, vary it, and generally adapt it to their own needs. You can help us by sending any methods or materials developed elsewhere for possible inclusion in our program and in this manual.

SOME PAMPHLETS AND REPRINTS ON NONVIOLENT ACTION

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NONVIOLENCE ON THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

Revolution: Violent and Nonviolent. Advocates (Barbara Deming and Regis Debray) of both types of revolution state their cases. Deming's article is one of the most persuasive for nonviolent revolution yet to appear. Reprinted from February '68 Liberation. 35¢

Nonviolence in Latin America: A First-Hand Report by Glenn E. Smiley. A well worth reading account of current potential for nonviolent revolution in Latin America. Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). 5¢

Nonviolence Today. Three articles entitled: "Justice and Social Revolution" by Stewart Meacham, "A Gandhian and the Negro Revolution" by T. K. Mahadevan, and "The Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa" by Jim Bristol. Reprinted from the March 1967 Liberation. 10¢ each, 12 for $1.00.

Of Holy Disobedience by A. J. Muste. Persuasive argument for non-cooperation with the draft. Written with historical perspective which makes it timely though written fifteen years ago. Pendle Hill pamphlet. 55¢

A Perspective on Nonviolence. Friends Peace Committee. Though dated (1957), this pamphlet has useful sections: 10 Bench Marks of Nonviolence, Steps in the Nonviolent Approach, Levels of Nonviolence. Available from FPC. 10¢.

HISTORICAL CASES OF NONVIOLENT ACTIONS

What Do You Mean Nonviolence? by Sue Gottfried. Stories of nonviolent resistance from Roman times through the present, including resistance to the Nazis, South African apartheid, the Mafia in Sicily, and others. Written clearly enough to be useful for high schoolers, yet with enough content to interest adults. Available from FOR. 50¢.

Three of Martin Luther King's famous speeches and letters: "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," "I have a Dream," and "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence." FOR. 20¢.

They Didn't Call it Nonviolence But... by George Lakey. A short, well-documented study of three examples of large popular nonviolent movements which overthrew oppressive governments in Latin America. Available from A Quaker Action Group. 10¢.

Czechoslovakia's Resistance by George Lakey. A short account of examples of nonviolent resistance during the early weeks of the 1968 Russian invasion. FOR reprint from the November 1968 Fellowship. 5¢.

DYNAMICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

Nonviolent Action: How it Works by George Lakey. An analysis of how success comes through nonviolent action, when it does, with implications for strategy. Pendle Hill pamphlet. 55¢.

Public Witness. Friends Peace Committee. Direct action from the Quaker viewpoint. Has a chapter "Preparing and Conducting Public Witness Projects," which gives a checklist useful for anyone planning a demonstration. FPC. 10¢.

Nonviolent Responses in Social Conflict: A Manual for Trainers. Friends Peace Committee. A "How to do it" manual for training people in nonviolent direct action. Includes use of various training techniques: role-playing, situation analysis, civilian defense games, street-speaking, leafletting. Available in mimeographed form from FPC.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON NONVIOLENT ACTION: BOOKS
(all available in paperback editions)

THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE

Joan Bondurant, Conquest of Violence, Berkley: University of California Press, 1965. The best book on nonviolence from a poli ical science perspec ive. Presents an analysis of nonviolent theory and a numoef of case studies of nonviolent campaigns in India.

Richard Gregg, The Power of Nonviolence, New York: Schocken, 1966. A new edition of the classic from the 1930's, widely influential and still worth reading.

Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, New York: Grove Evergreen, 1966. A critique of nonviolence by a revolutionary, from a psychological point of view.

NONVIOLENCE IN ACTION

Mohandas K. Gandhi, Autobiography, Satyagraha in South Africa (Available in several editions). Perhaps better than either of these as an introduction to Gandhi's writings is the Schocken paperback Nonviolent Resistance (1961). Homer A. Jack's The Gandhi Reader is also a good collection.

M.L. King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom, the story of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Why We Can't Wait, the story of the Birmingham campaign. Where Do We Go From Here? His last book, covers such topics as black power, urban riots, future of nonviolence. (All Harper and Row).

Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, A Manual for Direct Action, Chicago: Quadrangle 1965. Strategy and tactics for civil rights and all other nonviolent protest movements.

READERS ON NONVIOLENCE

Staughton Lynd (editor), Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966. These selections refute completely the idea that nonviolence is am import, foreign to American soil.

Mulford Q. Sibley, The Quiet Battle: Writings on the Theory and Practice of Nonviolent Resistance. New York: Anchor, 1963. One of the best readers on the subject we have; covers a wide scope in issues, history, and geography; a good afterward by Sibley.

CIVILIAN DEFENSE

American Friends Service Committee, In Place of War. New York: Grossman, 1967. An inquiry into the use of nonviolent action as a means of national defense. Written chiefly with the U.S. in mind, but relevant to the defense problems of the new nations in, for example, Africa and Asia with their problems of potential coups d'etat and lack of capital funds.

Gene Sharp, Civilian Defense: A Political Equivalent for War. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1966. The clearest available statement of nonviolent action as a functional alternative to armed struggle; makes connections to political theory.